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C O N F I D E N T I A L TEL AVIV 5107

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, IS, UN

SUBJECT: SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE ON ENTEBBE RESCUE: RESULTS AND
RAMIFICATIONS

REFS: (A) USUN 2909, (B) TEL AVIV 4907 NOTAL

BEGIN SUMMARY: THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS BELIEVES THE
ENTEBBE RESCUE AND THE ENSURING DEBATE IN THE SECURITY
COUNCIL HAVE NOT DAMAGED ISRAELI RELATIONS WITH AFRICA.
THE POSITION TAKEN BY AFRICAN STATES AT THE NON-ALIGNED
MEETING IN COLOMBO WILL PROVIDE A FURTHER TEST. END SUMMARY.

1. WE ASKED BAROMI, DIRECTOR OF UN POLITICAL AFFAIRS IN THE
MFA, FOR HIS VIEWS REGARDING THE RAMIFICATIONS FOR ISRAEL
IN THE UN AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL FORA OF THE ENTEBBE OPER-
ATION. HE RESPONDED FIRST THAT THE GOI WAS PARTICULARLY
GRATIFIED BY U.S. FIRMNESS DURING THE SECURITY COUNCIL DE-
BATE AND FELT THE SUPPORT OF OTHER WESTERN STATES WAS DUE
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TO THAT FIRMNESS.

2. BAROMI WENT ON TO SAY THAT INITIALLY THE GOI HAD EXPECTED A HEAD-ON CONFLICT WITH THE AFRICAN STATES IN THE UN AND PERHAPS A NEW RESOLUTION ON ZIONISM/RACISM OR EVEN MOVES TOWARD SUSPENSION. SINCE THESE DID NOT EVENTUATE, THERE NOW APPEARS TO BE REASONS FOR MORE OPTIMISM. AS BAROMI SAW IT, THE ARABS HAVE NOT BEEN TOO SUCCESSFUL IN RECENT MEETINGS OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS. THEY HAD BEEN DEFEATED AT THE ILO IN JUNE, AND EH WHO "SCANDAL" HAD BEEN A DISCREDIT TO THEM BECAUSE IT SHOWED THEY COULD NOT ACCEPT ANY FINDING WHICH WAS NOT CRITICAL OF ISRAEL. IT WAS DIFFICULT TO DETECT ANY MOMENTUM FROM THE ARABS FOR NEW ANTI-ISRAEL MOVES. THE BLACK AFRICAN STATES WERE TIRED AND DISINTERESTED.

3. WHAT WOULD BE THE EFFECT OF ENTEBBE? THE OAU HAD NEVER ACTED AS A UNIT IN PREVIOUS ANTI-ISRAEL MOVES SO THIS WAS A NEW DEVELOPMENT. (THE NEAREST PRECEDENT WAS PERHAPS THE ARGENTINE COMPLAINT AGAINST ISRAEL IN THE EICHMANN CASE, BUT THAT WAS A COMPLAINT BROUGHT BY A SINGLE STATE.) IT SOON BECAME OBVIOUS THAT THE OAU MOVE WAS THE RESULT OF MODERATES FOLLOWING THE LEAD OF RADICALS AGAIN AND WAS THE EMOTIONAL REACTION AGAINST WHAT WAS SEEN AS WHITE INTERVENTION ON AFRICAN SOIL. IT WAS APPARENT IN NEW YORK THAT MANY AFRICAN STATES DID NOT IDENTIFY WITH AMIN AND DID NOT WISH TO SUPPORT HIM. MAURITIUS, AS CHAIRMAN OF THE OAU, WAS OBLIGED TO SPEAK UP AND PRESENT THE OAU POSITION AND IT DID THIS WELL, EVEN ELOQUENTLY. NO OTHER BLACK AFRICAN STATES SPOKE EXCEPT TANZANIA, CAMEROON AND GUINEA AND THOSE WERE ALL EXPECTED AND EXPLAINABLE.

4. IN REVIEWING ENTEBBE, BAROMI SAID IT WAS NOTEWORTHY THAT THERE WAS NO ANTI-ISRAEL RESOLUTION OR MOVE AT THE ECOSOC MEETING IN ABIDJAN. AN EFFORT HAD BEEN MADE BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE IVORY COAST TO RESTRICT ANY SUCH MOVE IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN DIGNITY AND TO HAVE THE MEETING SUCCEED; NEVERTHELESS, THIS HAD BEEN A GOOD OPPORTUNITY FOR ANTI-ISRAEL MOVES WHICH WAS NOT USED. IN SUM, THE GOI SEES ENTEBBE AS NOT HAVING IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH AFRICAN STATES BUT ALSO AS NOT HAVING PARTICULARLY DAMAGED THEM.

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5. EVENTS AT THE NON-ALIGNED MEETING IN COLOMBO MAY REQUIRE AFRICAN STATES TO TAKE AN ANTI-ISRAEL STAND, AND THEY MAY DO SOMETHING THERE THEY WOULD NOT HAVE DONE HAD ENTEBBE NOT OCCURRED. HOWEVER, IT IS DIFFICULT TO FORESEE THE RESULTS OF COLOMBO BECAUSE THE NAM IS SO

UNORGANIZED AND SO UNPREDICTABLE; PRELIMINARY REPORTS THE GOI HAS REGARDING COLOMBO PROVIDE NO CLEAR PICTURE. NEITHER DOES THE OLYMPIC WALK-OUT BY AFRICAN STATES PROVIDE ANY CLEAR INDICATION -- THERE WAS NO NEED IN MONTREAL TO AVOID UNDIGNIFIED OR IRRATIONAL BEHAVIOR. THE MONTREAL WALK-OUT IS BEST SEEN AS A DEMONSTRATION THAT SOUTH AFRICA IS STILL A MORE VITAL ISSUE TO AFRICAN STATES THAN THE ARAB-ISRAEL CONFLICT. IN THIS REGARD THE VORSTER VISIT TO ISRAEL IN APRIL PROBABLY REMAINS MORE DAMAGING TO FUTURE ISRAELI-AFRICAN RELATIONS THAN ENTEBBE. (THE SECRETARY'S MEETINGS WITH VORSTER ARE REGARDED BY THE GOI AS HELPFUL TO ITS INTERESTS.)

6. BAROMI SAID THE EC-9 MADE A DEMARCHE IN MAURITIUS DURING THE OAU SUMMIT AND SUGGESTED THAT THE OAU MEMBERS NOT SUPPORT ANY ZIONIST/RACIST RESOLUTION. THE GOI FEELS IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF THE COMMUNITY WOULD DO THE SAME AT COLOMBO AND WOULD LIKE THE DEMARCHE TO BE EVEN BROADER -- THE ZIONISM/RACISM RESOLUTION SHOULD BE USED AS A SPECIFIC EXAMPLE TO SUGGEST TO NAM THAT ALL SUCH CONTENTIOUS ISSUES, CLEARLY OBJECTIONABLE TO A LARGE NUMBER OF UN MEMBERS, ENDANGER THE UN AS AN ORGANIZATION WHEN PUSHED TO DEBATE. THE GOI SUGGESTS THAT THE UNITED STATES URGE THE NINE TO MAKE SUCH A DEMARCHE AT COLOMBO. ACTION: IF WE INTEND TO ACCEDE TO THIS LATTER SUGGESTION, WE WOULD LIKE TO BE ADVISED SO THAT WE CAN INFORM THE GOI.
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